2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

man of that name; should this *gol* become strong enough, it will take a new name and become *kwa* Kako. This agrees well with Westermann's statement that *gol* means enclosure, home, homestead, family. It is seen in the names of some sections, e.g. Golobogu, corresponding with the *kwa* Obogo of Westermann.

Several hamlets in the midst of their cultivation patches form a *fane*, which might be called a village group, under a chief (*jago*). A number of *fane*, each with its own grazing ground (*wat*), form a *fodo* (district), a number of *fodo* going to form each of the ten provinces of the Shilluk kingdom.

Fenikang, which is relatively large for a Shilluk village, consists of only two clans, the Golobogu and Pameiti, both traditionally attached to the great shrine. As their homesteads are built in two groups round the dancing space by the shrine, Fenikang corresponds more to our idea of a village than do most of the groups of isolated Shilluk hamlets, while Fashoda, with perhaps forty to fifty homesteads, has a special organization since it is inhabited only by royal wives and a few herdsmen. As a rule the number of homesteads in any Shilluk village is not great; there are, however, some large "villages". Atwadoi, north of Kodok, is, or was, the largest, and in 1903 was said to contain 120 homesteads.

As regards the clans themselves, Westermann gives a formidable list[1]; actually many of these are not clans; he mistakenly raises a number of princely families to clan rank (e.g. *kwa* Nyadwai, the descendants of King Nyadwai) and he also includes a *kwa* Nikai, which, as Hofmayr points out,[2] stands for *kwa* Nyakai, i.e. the family of Nyakai, the crocodile mother of Nyakang (pp. 85–6) who is "related" to every member of the royal family. Whether families founded by foreigners have attained true clan rank, e.g. *kwa* Okogi, we cannot say, but it may well be so.

There are numerous observances connected with animals, including some which might be called taboos, but we did not ourselves discover any definite evidence of totemism, though as already stated clan exogamy prevails. On the other hand both Westermann and Hofmayr consider that totemism exists. Westermann gives the following example:—

"The ostrich and the crow and Deng were split out of the gourd, all three are three-twin children. Deng went into a certain village, the ostrich went into the bush, and the crow flew up. We were born by Deng. Akwot (the

[1] Op. cit., 127–34. [2] Op. cit., 237, where Westermann's list is criticized.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

son of Dengi came in the time of Dowot . . . he came into the Shilluk country to the people of the king (that is to Fashoda). And when we became many some went to Fenikang Odurojo, but some remained at Fenidwai. Thus we separated from each other. . . . That is the beginning of (the village of) Adidido—the ostrich and crow are of our family. They are not eaten by us on account of the dead children."[1]

Westermann states that the common ancestor to whom members of a clan trace descent is in most cases a man, but that "some of the clans claim descendency from an animal".[2] Hofmayr states that the number of totems among the Shilluk is small, and gives the following examples: ostrich, hippopotamus, Varanus lizard, giraffe, *gu* (a fish), a gourd, *ayiado* (a bean), *cwa* (tamarind), and *adio* (lucerne-stone). This seems to imply a wide distribution of particular clans. He also cites *cuvo* (a fish), the crocodile, the crested crane, and the knee-joint as totems of Tonga in the extreme south.[3]

As to the origin of these totems, if totems they be, we were informed that the prohibition to eat the fish *cuvo* was directly due to Nyakang, who told his people to bring him all the fish they caught in the river. Although they brought him many fish, they kept back one, and Nyakang, who knew this, as in dreams men are aware of things happening at a distance, told his people, i.e. all the Shilluk, that this fish must always be unlawful food to them. Concerning the crocodile, we were informed that all might eat it except those possessed by Nyakang or his mother, who if they ate it would die, and for this reason many *ajwago* might not eat it. Further questions on totemic lines elicited the statement: "If they [a group] are called thus [an animal or clan name] because it is a name let them eat him; if he was an ancestor [they] would not eat him."

Considering the data just cited we are struck by the fact that Westermann's example is almost in the typical Dinka form of totemism (twin birth of totem animal and human progenitor of clan), while the example given by Hofmayr is from Tonga at the extreme south of the Shilluk country, where, as we discovered, mixed marriages resulting in a mingling of Dinka and Shilluk cults were by no means uncommon. We are then inclined to consider that Shilluk totemism—as far as it exists—is due to Dinka influence.[4] In any

[1] Op. cit., 178-9. [2] Op. cit., 139. [3] Op. cit., 156.

[4] Hofmayr quotes a Shilluk text in which *kidol* is a fish, a woman, and a gourd as ancestors is ascribed to the Dinka (op. cit., p. 155), i.e. in principle it agrees with that given by Westermann as applying to the Shilluk. Since writing the above we have heard from Mr. Hussey of a *Jwo* Jang with the ostrich as totem, ostrich, crow, and man having emerged from a gourd as described on p. 41. Jang is the common Nilotic word for Dinka. Mr. Hussey, who does not regard the Shilluk as truly totemic, adds, "certainly many of the *Jwo* have no totem."

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

case, while exogamy is generally observed, the association of particular groups of men and animals seems to make no great emotional appeal to the Shilluk—so he has little loaded with affect—compared with the similar feelings among the Dinka. We may also refer to the suggestion put forward by Hofmayr,[1] that the incoming Shilluk had a definite totemic system, which became less important as the cult of Nyakang developed and the newcomers mixed with the earlier inhabitants of what is now the Shilluk country. Evidence for or against this hypothesis may be forthcoming when we know more of the beliefs of the Luo and Anuak. We therefore leave the subject with the observation that the existence of a partial resemblance of the Dinka pattern among the Shilluk would be explained if the earlier inhabitants absorbed by Nyakang and his horde—it will be remembered that these included animals which he turned into men—were Dinka, or folk with kindred beliefs.

Dr. Tucker has given us some interesting information which, though it does not officially concern totemism, might at first sight be confused with it and is worthy of further investigation. The inhabitants of a village, Pachuor, mark a scorpion several inches in length in raised cicatricial tissue on the shoulder—left for men and right for women so that it is not hidden by the shoulder cloth. The reasons they give is that they "desire to cultivate the strength of the scorpion"; yet they kill without scruple scorpions that they find in their huts. Other designs scarred on the shoulder, described by Dr. Tucker, include the horse, tortoise, aeroplane, and the sun. He reports a most curious instance of cicatrization as a result of a village quarrel. One village, Paulo, decided that it would no longer eat the fish *akol*, because the village Pajur, with which it was at enmity, is situated at the edge of a creek where many *akol* are caught. The Paulo proceeded to represent an *akol* in raised cicatrices on the shoulder; Pajur retaliated by avoiding lemons—because Paulo, living near the mission, grows lemons—and they scarred lemons on their shoulders. This was about a year ago; goodwill now reigns between the villages, and consequently the *akol* and the lemon are no longer avoided.

Turning now to the king and royal family, we would emphasize that the Shilluk king is the supreme spiritual and temporal ruler, and that to separate his functions—as for the sake of clarity we are about to do—is an artificial device. Nevertheless, we shall now

[1] Op. cit., 133.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
F323 Shilluk F323

the men rose and each made a short speech, to which Aker answered; these speeches were appeals to Nyakang not to let the antlers suffer from the ravages of the birds. When all had spoken, Awejok, brother's son to Ayuriel, stroked the bull's flank with a spear and then thrust it into the beast. Immediately he ran with the spear to the river to wash it. The wound was oblique and only a few inches deep. The bull was now guided into the enclosure of the shrine, where it was stabbed again with another spear and led into the enclosure of Kwayo while Aker and the chiefs remained just outside. The groans of the dying bull were heard for some time. The chiefs now followed into the courtyard of Kwayo but we do not know whether any of them entered the hut. The flesh of the sacrifice was divided and eaten subsequently by Aker and the men of Gelidenga and Panatiti. A band of warriors in full dress bearing their spears now returned to the dancing-ground, danced once round the sacred enclosure, then knelt down and clapped their hands and were silently away. We were told that the spear used to kill the bull was one presented specially by the king; but one of the original spears of Nyakang here used so one could have eaten the flesh of the bull and survived.

It must be noted that before the ceremony we were told that [428] Ayuriel was the hereditary bull slayer, but his personal nephew certainly threw the first spear; we did not ascertain whether he or Ayuriel finally killed and cut up the beast. Probably the matter was of little consequence, as Ayuriel was old and Awejok would succeed him. Before the ceremony we were also told that the beast would be stabbed outside the fence but would enter the shrine before dying, and this was so. The sacred character of the spears was a matter of importance; the large spear referred to above was kept sheathed throughout the ceremony until used to stab the bull, thus emphasizing its sacred quality.

So much for what we saw. We were told that the spear would be washed in the holy water kept in the hut Kwayo and that after this it would be taken to the river to be washed. The right forelimb of the bull would be cut off and shown round the village—we believe that this went to Ayuriel—the rest of the beast was Nyakang's and would be taken to Aker's house, there to be eaten by the old men.

Our description of the worship of Nyakang may conclude with a short account of his appearance in animal form, as well as some reference to the cult of his mother Nikaya, almost as much crocodile

2.Seligman & Seligman E.-S (1909-1910) 1911
F323 Shilluk F323

as woman.[1] Certain of the Shilluk kings, i.e. particular incarnations of Nyakang, used to be identified with particular species of animals. Nyakang, Dag, and Nyakwai all appear as a white bird called okak, or, rarely, as a giraffe; if the animal comes straight towards the village in which the shrine stands, exhibiting no sign of fear, it is concluded that it is a spirit animal, and the attendants at the tomb sacrifice a sheep, or perhaps even a bullock. Father Banholzer adds "long-bodied grasshoppers" and "a kind of snake called *rol*" as forms in which Nyakang appears. Dr. Lembie of the American Mission informed us that unusual behaviour on the part of almost any kind animal would lead the Shilluk to look upon the creature as a temporary incarnation of Nyakang, adding that unusual behaviour on the part of a water animal would be put down to the animal possessing the spirit of Nikaiya (Nyakai); as "if a little bird flies into the midst of a crowd of people and is not frightened, or assails someone's notice in a special manner, they say 'Nyakang'". Occasionally Nyakang appears as a bull; in 1910 a very old Shilluk of the royal family told that in his youth, fifty or more years earlier, Nyakang appeared as a white bull, when the king ordered sacrifices to be made in addition to those already offered by the local chief.

We may add an experience of our own. Tor Adwiki takes the form of an insect called *akwon* (*Ar. gamal as sah*), which appears to be the larval form of one of the *Mantidae*; we only discovered this important belief by the fortunate accident of an *akwon* settling upon our camera while we were making inquiries near the grave shrine of Tor Adwiki, which was being repaired. We were about to examine the insect when we were told by Col, whom we had been questioning, not to touch it. The juge, with his face showing the greatest pleasure, took the insect in his hands and reverentially carried it to the shrine, only the base of which had been built up, and deposited it on a leafy branch which was thrust into the ground in the centre of the shrine, i.e. over the grave of Tor Adwiki. Col told us that the appearance of Tor Adwiki in his animal form showed that he was favourably disposed to us and we are displeased at our inquiries concerning the shrine, and after this incident it was distinctly easier to obtain

[1] According to the common tradition of Fazoglo origin, as it has already been mentioned, collected by Dr. Junker, [illegible] Nyikang is generally said to have had twenty-one sons, by the beautiful Nyadit named Ajwong Adok, who came up out of the lake. The eldest son, a true child, whose grandchildren, Ukang, married two sisters, of whom was Nyakang, or Nyakai, the latter part of whose body was that of a crocodile, brought forth Nyakang, who inherited his mother's native attributes (*Dr. Hugh Stigand, loc. cit.*).

2.Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
F323 Shilluk F323

information from Col and his people. According to Bechtinger (quoted by Hofmayr)[1] the praying mantis is regarded as the messenger of Nyakang, so it seems likely that our undetermined insect was a larval mantis.

We may here refer to the special regard paid to trees growing near the shrines of dead kings, which we consider yet another aspect of the cult of Nyakang. This concern is not remarkable, for the Shilluk country is in the main bare, with few shady trees, so that any tree growing in or on the outskirts of a village is preserved and the ground between so some extent a meeting and squatting place. But the Shilluk attitude appears to be something more than an appreciation of their grateful shade, though we could discover no regular cult. When a tree has grown, or is believed to have grown, near a shrine shortly after its erection, i.e. within a few months or years of the burial of a "divine king", it is thought that the tree has sprung from one of the logs used in making the grave, and in such cases the relation between the tree and the dead king is one that would easily suggest itself.[2]

Promotion by the spirits of Nyakang and other Shilluk kings, i.e. conditions of dissociation attributed to these, will be considered when discussing medicine-men, especially the good medicine-men (ajwagi).

The Shilluk attitude towards the crocodile is naturally influenced by the belief in the ancient attributes of the ancestors of Nyakang, and especially of his mother. The crocodile is generally spared, as some of the worst man-eaters are believed to be men whom other crocodiles have taken, and very dark coloured crocodiles are said to be either man-crocodiles or their descendants. Moreover Nikaiya lives in the river, and is definitely associated with the crocodile, and, though she may sometimes harass fish at times come to the village by night in all friendliness, she may seize a man or a woman and bear him or her off to her home in the river and there change her

[1] Op. cit., p.

[2] As an instance we may cite an old tree at Kodok whose enemy was standing to open near the grave of Nyakang, the twelfth king; if anyone had learned the wood of this tree, even accidentally, he would have sickened, and when the tree fell its fragments were collected and carried to the river, just as are the bones of certain sacrifices. There was to open an shrine over the grave of Nyakang, probably because it is situated some little distance from the present native village and is surrounded by Government offices and houses, but it had a house erected to, and a young tree had sprouted at some distance from the enemy of the old tree was regarded with regard. The old tree did not really spring from the grave of Nyakang, since it was admitted that during his lifetime it stood near his house and that he would often sit under it; nevertheless, there is a general feeling that it is associated with his grave, and this feeling is so strong that many Shilluk at one time or another spoke of Nyakang being buried under the tree, though his grave must be nearly a hundred yards away.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
F323 Shilluk F323

within into a crocodile to be a spouse to one of her crocodile relatives. Yet Nikaiya brings luck to those whom she visits by night to ask for her; if a barren woman bears a child after such a visit it will be called Nikaiya, and the father will kill a sheep and throw it into the river. Nikaiya is known by her short erect figure and great muscular development, and by the fact that she "eats" (consults) her words. Thus the river is the true home of Nikaiya is shown by the manner of sacrificing to her; for as a sacrifice would be made at the shrine of Nyakang, or at the grave shrine of any Shilluk king, if Nyakang or one of the kings had appeared in a dream—or if a king had "possessed" a man causing him to become ill—so when Nikaiya becomes immanent sacrifice is made by throwing a live sheep, with its legs bound, into the river.

Hofmayr states that the *kwoth* may divine that a new-born infant has been sent by Nikaiya; if a boy it will then be called Nikaiya, if a girl Nikaiya.[1] When such a child grows up and becomes betrothed an offering must be made to Nikaiya as part of the wedding ceremony. The couple go to the river, where the *kwoth* slaughters a male black and white sheep, smears the young people with the contents of the stomach, and fastens the ear-lobes with beads on to the feet of the bride. Beer, tobacco, earth, and parts of the sacrifice are thrown into the river for Nikaiya, and the betrothed bathe in the river. They are then conducted by the *kwoth* to a house prepared for them in the bride's village, and must remain there for three or four days.[2]

There is a limited cult of the Dinka god, Deng-dit, perhaps confined to the southern part of the country. Fig. 2 of Pl. IX represents a shrine to Deng-dit in Odeng hamlet, not far from Fenikang, and we both saw and heard of other instances. The example figured is, as far as we could determine, unlike any Shilluk shrine and was said to be of Dinka pattern. The present incumbent took over the shrine at the death of his grandmother, a Dinka woman, who had been possessed by Deng-dit to whom she erected the shrine. The iron bracelets shown in the photograph have all been brought by Shilluk, who visit the shrine in considerable numbers. No doubt the possession of the present incumbent resembles the Shilluk possession by their *rur* (kings).

We should also mention the spirits of the bush and river, i.e. creatures resembling mankind in form but with non-human functions

[1] Op. cit., 177. [2] Hofmayr, op. cit., 190.

J.Westermann E-5 (0910) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

The sons inherit the property of their father. The wives of the deceased [illegible]
father are divided among the children, who may, and in most cases do, marry
them, except their own mother. It is said that sometimes, when a husband is
very old and infirm, his wives put him to death, in order to get a younger com-
panion. On inheritance vide page 113.

Their chief amusement is dancing. The houses of a village are built in a [illegible]
circle, leaving an open place in their midst. Here the inhabitants assemble in
the evening, stretching themselves in the warm ashes or on a skin, or squatting
on a piece of matting; several small fires of cow dung are burning and spread
a smoke of strong smell, which is the best protection from mosquito stings.
The events of the day are discussed here, the tobacco pipe and snuff box
going from hand to hand. In the middle of this open place the trunk of a large
tree is erected, in which the drums are suspended. With them signals are given
in times of danger, but more frequently they are used to accompany the
dances of the young people. These public dances are among the greatest events
in the lives of the young Shilluks; even old men and women, though not tak-
ing an active part, are highly interested in them; sitting before the huts in front
of the dancers they constitute a chorus, who accompanies the transactions of
the younger generation with loud acclamations or blessings. The dances gene-
rally take place during the dry season; they begin at about four o'clock in the
afternoon, or, in case there is necessities, later in the evening, and last from
three to five hours or longer. As a rule one village invites its neighbours by a
drum signal given in the early morning of the day fixed for a dance. On hearing
this signal the young people show a great zeal in preparing their body, hair-
dress and the ornaments worn on the occasion. They go to the village in groups
or single, men and girls separately. Usually the youths perform some war-dance
in full array at first, in which the girls do not partake; they form a large circle
in four or two rows, and while the drum is being beaten, begin dancing and
singing war songs. The dance consists in jumping on the toe and at the same
time moving slowly forward. These rhythmical movements are from time to
time interrupted by a group of dancers violently rushing out of the circle,
howling and shouting aloud, brandishing their spears with fierce looks, and per-
forming mock fights or playing pantomimes, in which they exhibit very remar-
kable ability. Scenes from the hunting, pastoral and agricultural life are represented
with such a dramatic vivacity that they richly deserve the applause they earn.

On a given signal, spears, clubs and shields are laid aside and put together
in one place, and now the second part, in which the girls partake, begins. The
latter have till then been waiting in a separate place, where the female bystand-
ers are gathered. Each girl selects her own dancer. First the men form again a

made on all times of crises and misfortune. Everything round a shrine is sacred, especially trees - they are particularly rare in Shillukland in any case.

Certain Shilluk kings, particular incarnations of Nyikang, tend to be identified with particular species of animals. If such an animal approaches the shrine without signs of fear, it is assumed to be the form in which Nyikang appears, and a sacrifice is offered at the shrine. Almost any unusual behaviour on the part of an animal would lead the Shilluk to look on it as a temporary incarnation of Nyikang. Nyikang's mother, Nyakiro, is reputed to have been a crocodile and is believed to live in the river in that form. A sacrifice is made to her by throwing a live sheep into the river. The crocodile is generally spared even though these creatures are a danger in river crossings.

There is a limited cult of the Dinka spirit Dengdit, and also a belief in the spirits of the bush and river.

THE CULT OF THE ANCESTORS

Beliefs concerning the ancestral spirits are vague. Reference is made to *yen yuet*, 'the country of the dead', which is reached by the spirits after long wandering through the bush, but it is also believed that the spirits persists in or around the grave. Offerings and sacrifices are made to the ancestral spirits by the head of a household or local lineage on behalf of the descendants. If there is sickness or misfortune or the possibility of danger, a person will pray to his ancestors and make an animal sacrifice to propitiate them.

The ancestral cult seems, however, to be overshadowed by the national cult of Nyikang and the royal ancestors.

TOTEMIC BELIEFS

Seligman suggests that Shilluk totemism may have been derived from the Dinka because it seems so slight and unimportant. According to Hofmayr and Kronenberg the clans appear to have totems and some clans derive themselves from an animal or fish which Nyikang took and turned into people in order to populate the country. Hofmayr states that totem animals are often killed but it is considered wrong to eat them.(1) Most totems are animals but a few are plants. Children inherit their totems from their fathers; a woman keeps hers even when she is married.(2)

MAGICAL PRACTICES

The Rainmaker (*Ajwogo*)

Ajwogo means 'man of Juok'. Such people are regarded as possessing certain magical powers which they use for the good of the community. People go to them when they are in need of help and pay them for their assistance. The powers of the *ajwogo* are believed to be due to their

(1) Hofmayr, Die Schilluk, 1925, p.331.
(2) Ibid.

S:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 F235 Shilluk F235

originally came, was to the south of their present home, but whether south-west or south-east varies from one account to another. This homeland was 'at the end (or "head") of the earth,'[1] and near a great lake.[2] Apart from this, we know only that in that land there was a king, called Okwa, and that he was the father of Duwat, Nyikang, and other sons. Also, there was then no death, for as people became old, they were trampled by cattle, and became infants again.[3] Accounts of this first land, which also represents the beginning of Shilluk historical time, are sparse and simple. This may be consistent with the fact that in this original land and time, the Shilluk suppose that they were not differentiated from others of the Luo-speaking group. Their accounts of this early period are like their other most general cosmological ideas, in showing little of the development and systematization which come from meditation and reflection; elaboration and detail appear in their myths with the emergence of Nyikang, and therefore with the beginning of the Shilluk royal house and the Shilluk nation. Of the time before that, they know only the little which has here been stated.

There are various accounts of the birth of Nyikang. In one, it is said that he was the son of Okwa, who was the son of Ornaro, who came from heaven.[4] In another he is the son of Okwa, but Okwa traces descent through several forefathers to a great white or grey cow, which was created by God in the river.[5] Nyikang's mother, Nyakaya, was either a crocodile, or partly crocodile, and is now associated with the crocodile in Shilluk thought, though she is also a woman. In all versions of the story of Nyikang's ancestry, his descent is traced through his father to a man who came from heaven, or from a special creation of God in the form of a cow, and his mother is a creature of the river with the attributes of the crocodile. Nyakaya, the mother of Nyikang, represents in Shilluk thought the totality of riverain beings and phenomena, and offerings are made to her on the river bank, at the grassy spots where the crocodile emerges. She is also especially associated with birth and with new-born babies.[6] Seligman was told that 'unusual behaviour on the part of almost any land animal would lead the Shilluk to look upon the creature as a temporary incarnation of Nyikang', while 'unusual behaviour on the part of a water animal would be put down to the animal incarnating the spirit of Nikaiya (Nyakai)'.[7]

Nyikang and his followers started their wanderings from their original home as a result of a quarrel between Nyikang and his half-brother, sometimes said to be his 'brother', Duwat.[8] They quarrelled about who should succeed their father, Okwa, as leader and king. Since Duwat was elected, Nyikang left with his faction. According to one story, he took the royal

[1] Oyler, 1918 (i). This is also a common Dinka idea, though they say that this land was 'at the foot of the earth'. It has for them not only the suggestion of remoteness, but also of being the time and place from which their traditions start.

[2] Id. E. C. Pumphrey, 1941.

[3] Westermann, 1912, p. 157.

[4] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 159.

[5] Westermann, 1912, p. 159.

[6] Oyler, 1918 (i).

[7] Ibid., pp. 133 ff., et al.

[8] C. G. Seligman, 1932, p. 86.

S:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

which is now not exercised, to interpret in the election of the Shilluk king. This right comes from Nyikang, who originally married his daughter to a Nuba, and received from the Nuba an initial stool, a replica of which is now the 'throne' of the Shilluk.[1] Such a myth, for the Shilluk, gives the Nuba a customary place in the social order of the Shilluk world. There are other examples which show that Nyikang explains differentiation, as he explains the relationship between so differentiated parts. One illustration may be taken from a myth of Nyikang's making people from animals,[2] and another, from the nature of the territorial divisions of the Shilluk kingdom.

It is said that when Nyikang first arrived in his land with his followers, he made people for his kingdom out of insects, fish, and animals. These he captured and turned into human beings, and they are the origin of the Shilluk common people. After Nyikang had made these people from the animal creation, 'the parent stock was removed by death', so that their children might not know of their origin. So the Shilluk common people derive their humanity, and their separateness from the animal creation, from the action of Nyikang. They claim, however, that their totems were given them by Nyikang,[3] who thus both separated them from the non-human creation, and also established an ordered relationship between some of the descent groups of his kingdom and various non-human species. According to another account, Nyikang alone was able to recognize that men were masquerading as animals and, seeing through this confusion, he captured them and made them into the men they really were.[4] This story shows Nyikang able to distinguish between appearance and reality, and to assimilate the reality to his kingdom.

Partition of the Shilluk kingdom by Nyikang

The clearest example of Nyikang's position in Shilluk cosmology—that is, their apprehension of the differentiation and the correlation of the parts of their world—is to be found in the territorial partition of the Shilluk kingdom, and this is here described at some length. Nyikang is thought to have entered present Shilluk country in the south-west, near Tonga, and to have moved along the west bank of the river until he established the northern limits of his country near Muomo, founding villages on the way, and associating them with his followers, his clients, or himself. The dominant lineages of various Shilluk settlements thus owe their association with the land in which they live to Nyikang. Westermann says that the Shilluk themselves think of their land as a whole by referring to Tonga and Muomo, its most northerly and southerly settlements, which term 'corresponds exactly to the expression of the ancient Hebrews: from Dan unto Bersheba'.[5] Shilluk country is now divided into two provinces, Ger, or Gerr, in the north and

[1] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 31.
[2] Westermann, 1912, p. 156; Oyler, 1928, pp. 111, 112.
[3] Hofmayr, *op. cit.*, p. 25.
[4] Oyler, 1928 *ib.* p. 112.
[5] Westermann, *op. cit.*, introduction, xx.

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

a cow, for example. In a text given by Westermann[1] the hare is taught and saved by *juok*. The hare (or rabbit) is said by Hofmayr to be the favourite figure in many Shilluk animal stories, and the stories quoted by him and by Westermann show how clever, and how lucky, the hare is. A story given by Hofmayr[2] about the hare's eating young crocodiles appears in a different form in Westermann,[3] where this act is attributed to Dak, the clever son of Nyikang. The moral of these stories is that astuteness and trickery, like knowledge, pay, and it seems as though unusual intelligence, ingenuity, and luck associate those who possess them with the divine intelligence, and the success for which God is the Shilluk explanation. Hofmayr gives as a translation for the Shilluk expression *jango tarr*, 'that which I have from the highest being, my soul, my lot, luck, my other self, is favourable to me'.[4] The large number of Shilluk riddles is an indication of the high value set on cleverness and ingenuity, and it is to be expected that these qualities, held up for admiration in their stories and in their daily life, should be ideally associated with Nyikang and their kings.

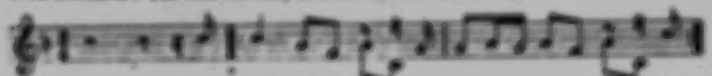
The kings, and all others inspired by *juok*, are sacred because they manifest divine energy and knowledge, and they do so by being strong, cunning, and successful, as well as by appearing to be in closer touch with the supernatural than are ordinary men. The signs of this closer communion are dreams and 'hysterical' possession, or at least some outward sign of contact with a superior power. Examples of behaviour showing this are numerous. In the installation ceremonies of 1943, when the king-elect was set on the sacred stool of Nyikang at a climax in the ceremony, we are told that 'the rath (king) was seized with a trembling fit at the critical moment, and certainly he appeared to be in a dazed condition immediately afterwards'.[5] This form of behaviour is a common sign of possession by a power greater than human among other Nilotic peoples. Though there was some reference in these ceremonies to the king as the source of justice, and to the ethical qualities necessary in a ruler, they were clearly distinct from the central religious significance of the ceremonies. So also, though we find many references in Shilluk texts to God as the helper of the poor and the final court of appeal in trouble, his activity in these respects is not to be taken as an indication that he is only or primarily an apotheosis of ethical virtue. Many of the hymns to Nyikang and God are laments that the land is being destroyed because they are not helping, and we are told that when their prayers are not answered, the Shilluk may curse Nyikang for not assisting them.[6] A Shilluk proverb says that 'God threads good and evil men on a single string', suggesting that, in some circumstances at least, God does not seem to reward virtue and punish vice.[7] In other texts he is shown as the ultimate sanction for customary ethical behaviour, as a helper, and as a

[1] 1912, p. 180.
[2] Op. cit., 135.
[3] Howell and Thomson, 1946, p. 62.
[4] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 276.
[5] 1929, p. 276.
[6] Op. cit., p. 195.
[7] Oyler, 1918 (ii), p. 285.

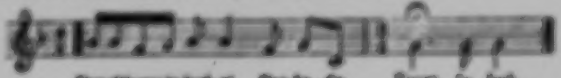
Acholi F111
Anuak F117

(6) *Kingoro*.—The most clever animal caricature I have seen was among the Shilluk. One boy crouches down and is entirely muffled in clothes. Over his head, from front to back, he holds a stick, grasping it with both hands just in front of his forehead. The stick is also covered with a cloth, and the front end tied with string, so that the crouching figure looks like some great bird with a long bill. (Fig. 6, Pl. XVII.)

First movement: The bird solemnly nods his head, while all sing: —



Second movement: The song leader sings something that sounds like: —

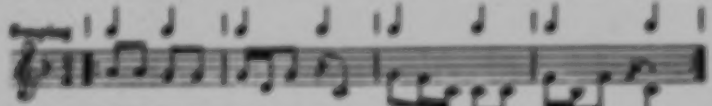


At the word "Turun," which is emphasized and drawn out, the bird shows its long beak round to one side, giving it a most inquisitive look.

Third movement: The song leader shouts "Lobo-lobo-lobo!" The bird at once pecks rapidly on the ground.

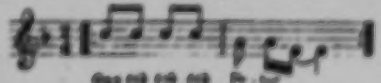
This is a real nature study. The bird here caricatured is known as the "Kingoro"—a brown-backed bird, with an air of stupid solemnity, and the three movements described above are characteristic. No one who has seen the bird could fail to recognize it in the boys' game.

(7) *Game*.—The boys sit in a line, some dozen or so of them, each with his feet on either side of the boy in front, as though tobogganing. They sing, rocking gently from side to side: —



Suddenly the song leader shouts "The boat is sinking! the boat is sinking!" With a concerted cry of "Help!" the whole line leads over on to one side. They recover, and lead over on to the other side. They recover, and lead over backwards; after which the boat resumes its interrupted journey. (Fig. 8, Pl. XVII.)

Strangely enough, I have met with a similar game among the Acholi and Lotuko, although both are indeed tribes. Among the Acholi the boys sit one behind the other, as in the Shilluk version, while the song leader walks round with a strong stick in his hand. At a given moment he places the stick against the shoulders of the squatting boys and sings: —



The homesteads are arranged in roughly horse-shoe shape around an open space in which are tethered the sheep and cattle of the hamlet. Within this space is usually a very large hut (*bual*) used for animals in the rains and throughout the year as a guest-house and general village club. There is also usually a second sized hut, with no surrounding fence, known as the *gwe*, which is used as a dormitory by the unmarried men. In this hut are put the ashes of the cattle dung with which the young men cover themselves at night for warmth and protection from flies. Some villages have a tree in the central circle, but more often there is a complete and inhospitable absence of shade.

The homestead (*gol*) consists of two huts between which is an area enclosed by a fence of dura stalks or rough grass matting. The family group inhabiting the homestead is called also (presumably by transference) *gol*, and it is in this latter sense that the word *gol* will be used in this note.

In this sense *gol* is the smallest (though important) social unit in the tribe. An unmarried man does not own a homestead. All unmarried persons live in the homestead and adhere to the *gol* of their father. If their father is dead they adhere to the *gol* of their eldest married brother or, if they have none, to their deceased father's (married) brother. The owner of the homestead to which they adhere is the leader of their *gol*, and as such is responsible for the behaviour of its members. This vicarious responsibility on the part of the *gol* leader is a corollary to the principles of the ownership of cattle (and sheep). The cattle of the *gol* are owned and disposed of by the *gol* leader alone, and since the remedy for a wrong is a payment of cattle it follows that he and not the actual malefactor is held responsible. The position resembles that of the Roman family where the *pater-familias* alone is *sui juris*, all others being *alieni juris*. The Shilluk *filius familias*, however, becomes *sui-juris* on marriage which the Roman son did not. The vicarious responsibility of the *gol* leader has the convenient aspect that the *gol* leader is more easily found by the arm of the law than the actual malefactor because of the fact that he owns a homestead.

27: Munro U-5 (1918) 1918 P323 Shilluk P323

A. — PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

The previous Rat Faširi wad Kwadkw died on February 21st, 1917. At his death there were various possible candidates for the Retship of whom however only two were of real interest: Shoti wad Ajang who owing to intrigue took up the attitude of claiming the Retship, and Faširi wad Tor whose claim, upheld for him by certain chiefs, was supported by Government. Shoti's position was much weakened by two factors: a) by his presumptuous attitude which was contrary to all decent Shilluk tradition, which even considers it correct for the Rat to disappear from his house on hearing of his probable selection, and b) by the fact that his father Ajang was never legitimate Rat, having never entered Fashoda, but having been allowed to usurp the position, when the Mudir of Fashoda imprisoned the real Rat Kwadkw. (N. B. The Shilluk rule of Retship makes it essential for the new Rat to be the son of a previous legitimate Rat, thus Shoti did not have the proper qualifications.) Faširi wad Tor, the most suitable member of the house, whose turn it was to have the Retship, was therefore selected for the honour. As was customary a period of interregnum ensued, during which time, although the Rat-to-be utters judgements, he is merely voicing the matured opinions of a Council of elders. It was stated to me that this interregnum always continued till after new dura had been sown and was ready to harvest. The general expectation was that the installation would not occur till February, but Faširi himself wished to have it completed at the first opportunity. This was most natural in view of the fact that there is no real recognition of the Rat as legitimate until after the actual installation and in consequence it is a period of grave insecurity. Faširi therefore sent messengers to the village of Akurwa to ask if all things were ready for the bringing of Nyakang[1] to the ceremony. A short delay occurred owing to the people of Akurwa having to collect many ostrich feathers and also ambatch for the creation of the bodily appearance of Nyakang (Tradition states that they obtain them from south of Jokekwa and that

[1] Nyakang. The semi divine hero and first king of the Shilluk race. Cf. Seligman, p. 106. During the ceremony he is represented by a tall cylindrical body probably made of ambatch, covered with light blue cloth, and with a roundish mass of ostrich feathers as a head.

27: Munro U-5 (1918) 1918 F223 Shillook F223

any suitable they may meet will stand until they have plucked the requisite feathers. Further they are believed to produce Nyakang from the river by stabbing a cow in sacrifice on the bank of the Nile).

When all was ready, Nyakang started on its journey with a large following and proceeded at a leisurely pace. The road is about far it from Kaka to Fashoda. It passed Kodok on 11th January 1918.

As Nyakang draws near, the selected Bet is supposed to go to Dobola in Akwam and stay there for one night before the actual ceremony. In this specific instance Fabi went to Akwam three days before the ceremony and was installed in Fashoda on the 4th morning. Different chiefs gave varying answers as to the number of nights which it was essential for the Bet to stay in Dobola: it would appear however that the Bet only goes there when everything is nearly ready; but if for any reason some delay occurs, a day or two is considered immaterial, which is in accordance with all native Shuluk customs. In the present instance I understand Ajang and Amoish of Akwam, whose duty it was had neglected to give due notice to the Southern chiefs, and so Kwe Bet[1] only arrived on the 16th instead of two days earlier.

8. — NARRATIVE (JANUARY 17TH, 1918).

I arrived Fashoda about 7.30 a.m. While waiting I examined the shrine of Nyakang[2] from outside, and the temporary hut[3] built for the Bet.

---

[1] Kwe (descendants of) Bet stated by Wawesawe, p. 108 to be founded by a man and woman, who came down from above. They left children on earth; their home is Bakidak. They receive from the Bet the black bull ever which the Bet steps before crossing the River; this is their reward for whipping on any that delly in following the Bet.

[2] The shrine of Nyakang consists of two well built circular mud huts with grass roofs surmounted by an ostrich egg and a spear blade. The whole is enclosed in a fence. The grey mud walls are painted in different coloured stripes with spots dotted on them as shown in Seligman's Illustration of Nyakang at Fashkang fig. 55. The guardian is an old ex-wife of the Bet; small children are also allowed to enter. No woman who is pregnant can enter the shrine. The guardian has a little hut apart.

[3] About 2m yards distant there is a practical miniature of the shrine, a temporary building completely made of grass especially erected for the Bet to live in after the installation prior to his going up to his real home on the mound.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

like bellows, and then passes it on. Pipe and beer circulate freely, and under the mellowing influence of both, tongues are quickly loosened and conversation turns to the perennial topic of cattle. After a while, your cigarette finished, you will excuse yourself to your host and, rising from your cramped position, greet everyone present in turn and make your escape into the open air.

The Shilluk, sensible man, starts his day with the sun. He emerges from his hut, however, with heavy head and bloodshot eyes, since he has been sleeping for seven or eight hours in a small windowless hut with the doorway blocked with a heavy grass mat and perhaps a smoky fire burning as a protection against mosquitoes. As a further defence against these pests he covers himself from head to foot with the red ashes from the cow-dung fire, but this does not worry him; if there is water handy he may rinse his hands and face, if not, he will remain as he is until his next visit to the river —perhaps today, perhaps tomorrow or the next day—gives him the chance of taking a bath.

Gradually the village comes to life: the women appear, winding their drab-looking cloths round them, and set off on their daily pilgrimage to the river with the heavy water pots balanced on their heads. The little group breaks up and the women fall into line, one behind the other, as they reach the narrow track leading out of the village, chattering like starlings as they swing along. The boys come out of the byre smothered like their elders in the red ashes in which they have been lying all night, looking like imps from the lower regions. They begin to clean up round the tethered cattle, collecting the cow dung and spreading it out to dry in the sun for fuel. When this is done they milk the cows and goats. From one compound comes the sound of dull thumping as some girl pounds the millet grain into coarse flour. The grain is small and hard, red or white in colour. It is first winnowed by being poured at shoulder height from a basket and then sieved in a boat-shaped scoop of plaited fibre. The grain is then put into a

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

According to the tribal mythology, Nyikang was no ordinary mortal. God, it declares, created a great white cow which came up out of the Nile and gave birth to a man child, Dhyang. His grandson Adak married a being who was half woman, half crocodile, and she became the mother of Nyikang. This affinity with the saurian inhabitants of the Nile gave Nyikang a special power over them; they came to his assistance during his great trek whenever his further passage was disputed by superior numbers, and at his command they emerged from the river, assumed human form and fought on his side until the opposition was overcome.

Mysterious was his birth; so too was Nyikang's passing from this earth. Being more than mortal, death, the lot of mortals, was not for him, but during a dance he was enveloped in a whirlwind and carried alive into Heaven. And there he reigns, not God, the great Jwok Atang, but the glorious divine intercessor with God for the Shilluk people. Nyikang is very much alive indeed to the Shilluk, for his spirit enters into every Shilluk king at his installation and dwells in him until his death.

The king, then, is the permanent manifestation of Nyikang to his people. He is their great high priest on earth, their intercessor for them with Nyikang, even as Nyikang is with God. Nay, more than that. It is conceivable that a European state could flourish and prosper under a sickly, or a mad, or a wicked king, or conversely, could weaken and decline, be its ruler a Hercules in strength and a Solon in administration. To the Shilluk, however, such a thing would be quite incomprehensible; to them the bodily and mental strength of the king exercises an influence upon the whole tribe, and upon it depends the well-being and the prosperity of the Shilluk race. Whilst he is strong and in full possession of his faculties the country will be prosperous; should his powers decline, them too will his people weaken and wane. Hence he must not be allowed to become enfeebled physically or mentally, must not be permitted to become senescent. For him there can be no question of abdication, of

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

difficult and weary travel, but they are hazy as to what kind of life is led in that country and suppose it to be but a continuation of the kind of life they know on this earth. Meanwhile the spirits which have not yet started on the journey to Pa Jwok hover round their graves and former homesteads and may do harm to their living relations, and a person who has died in enmity with anyone is greatly to be feared by his late enemy. All these spirits, therefore, have to be placated by offerings and sacrifices. Someone may be taken ill, and the anxious relatives call in the witch doctor to tell them which spirit is responsible for bringing this evil upon them. He consults his oracle, such as an empty calabash to which he listens intently, and then informs the people that Nyikang says such-and-such a one, recently dead, is responsible and that sacrifice and prayer must be offered to his spirit, and perhaps intercession and sacrifice is to be made at the grave of the sick person's dead father, that his spirit may prevail upon the malignant one to remove the curse from his family. Accordingly a sheep is led to the grave of the person to be placated. The right ear is cut off and washed in water and the water poured over the grave. Prayer is made both to God, Jwok-Atang (on such private occasions as this without the intercession of Nyikang), and to the dead person. Then the sheep is killed and the meat cooked. Some of the soup is poured over the grave and the meat is then eaten by those who have taken part in the sacrifice.

All former kings, and in some cases great chiefs, have their shrines. These shrines consist of two or three huts built in the usual Shilluk fashion but with much better thatching than that affected by the ordinary Shilluk and enclosed within a reed or thorn fence. As befitting the great spirit that dwells within, these shrines are kept in good repair and spotlessly clean by the duly appointed guardians. One such shrine is situated just a few hundred yards from the mission at Detwok. It consists of two large huts surrounded by a fence and is dedicated to Nyala, a woman, surprisingly enough. She was the daughter of the seventeenth

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

and that one of the tins containing ninety piastres (about 18*s*.) had been stolen. The District Chief was called and held solemn court on the verandah of the house. He, however, could not discover the thief and therefore gave judgment that the owner of the box was responsible for the safety of the money entrusted to him and that he was to refund the missing money and to be held in custody until he did so. This seemed rather unfair on Henry, the owner of the box, since he had gained nothing from acting as banker to the rest, yet unless the thief was found there was nothing that we could do about the matter and it seemed to be closed. Two days later we were surprised to learn that one of the boys had owned up to the theft and had refunded the money. We were pleased, too, because we thought that although the boy had acted meanly in stealing his companion's savings, at least he had been man enough to come forward to save Henry from having to pay the penalty for the theft. We were speedily disillusioned as to his motive for confessing; the other boys knew perfectly well that Henry was innocent of taking the money, and they had a very strong idea who had. Accordingly they subscribed to buy a sheep which was given to the local witch doctor as a fee for finding the thief. The jal yath let it be known that he would sacrifice the sheep at a certain hour, and the moment the animal died so would the culprit; the latter had not the courage to defy the curse but promptly confessed his guilt.

When an animal is slain in sacrifice, great importance is attached to the position in which it falls. If the animal is a bull, it is not usually slain outright, but wounded by a spear thrust and allowed free. If it should wander towards the river or towards the shrine before it dies, that is taken as a sign that the sacrifice is acceptable to Nyikang. So, too, is it taken as a good omen if the beast in collapsing falls on its left side; if it should fall on its right side then the portents are unfavourable, and should it fall neither to right nor left but simply crumple up and fall forward with forefeet doubled beneath it, that would presage some terrible disaster. The actual spearing of the victim is generally done by

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

a Bareth of the shrine before which the sacrifice is made. 782
The king or chief who is present and who dedicates the 787
offering stands by and leads public prayer to Nyikang for 825
the blessing sought. The meat of the sacrifice is eaten by all [262]
present with special perquisites for the Bareth guardian of [793]
the shrine. Care is taken when cutting up the meat not to
break any bones. These are collected and thrown into the
Nile. The horns are stuck in the ground in front of the shrine, [237]
and the skin, scraped and cleaned, remains in the shrine as
a mat for the spirit that dwells therein.

When the new corn is cut, tithes are given to Nyikang. 243
Part of these belong to the Bareth and the remainder is 782
ground into flour and made into a thin porridge which is
poured on to the ground in front of and inside the shrine as
a libation to the residing spirit.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

ordeal'. He brings a sheep to the village where the girl is; a corner of the animal's ear is cut off and the piece put into a bowl of water and the man, the girl and the baby are sprinkled with the resultant blood and water. If by the following morning the child is still alive the man is adjudged to have lied and must pay compensation as above. If, however, the baby should die during the night, then the girl is held to have accused the man falsely.

During the reign of King Kur, whose despotic methods of government resulted in his being removed from office, a much grimmer and more realistic trial by ordeal was enacted. The man and the girl were brought to a channel of the Nile where a large crocodile habitually dwelt. By some means this brute was called up from the depths and the pair placed equidistant from it were made to swim across the channel, or, if they could not swim, were launched on flimsy rafts. The one that the crocodile seized was deemed to be guilty of lying. It is on record that one youth about to be put to the test in this manner protested thus, 'I know that I am innocent all right, but how does the crocodile know that?'

After the proceedings of the naming and the trying of the lovers is concluded, the mother is allowed to have her child. If it should be a boy, the father, who has been informed of the birth and sex of the child though as yet he is not allowed to see him, sends a present of a miniature harpoon, presumably indicative of his desire that his son should grow up to be a mighty hunter of hippopotami. Then a small basket is woven and filled with ashes of burnt cow dung. One of the baby's maternal uncles hangs the basket round his waist calling upon Nyikang to bless the child and to make him a good husbandman. (The basket containing the ashes represents the large family basket filled with grain.) He then walks round the hut where the baby is, beats upon the wall with the basket and then throws it into the road. If the child is a girl the ashes are mixed with water and the uncle makes models of a bull and a cow. Nyikang's blessing is invoked upon the child that at her marriage she may command a good

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

dowry. The models are hung up in front of the hut and the ceremony is concluded with beer-drinking.

About a month later the child may be taken home to be shown to its father. The mother carrying the infant is accompanied by three or four girl friends and the old woman who attended her at the confinement. The father and his male relatives and friends inspect the baby outside the hut to satisfy themselves that it shows no deformity or any other abnormality. If such unhappily were the case, the child would be enclosed together with a live sheep in a basket and thrown into the Nile. When the father is satisfied that the child is normal, a goat or sheep is killed, the meat eaten at the ensuing feast and the skin scraped and softened to serve as a sleeping mat for the baby. Beer is prepared and the whole village invited to come to the party. Those who come, however, are expected to bring some small gifts of money, beads, bracelets and the like. These are the perquisites of the midwife, the beer makers and the girls who escorted the mother and child back to her home.

There are no special ceremonies for the birth of children after the first born, and the mother may or may not return to her father's village for her confinements as she pleases. There is however a little feast to celebrate the birth and, as before, a sheep or goat is killed and the skin used as the infant's sleeping mat.

During a woman's pregnancy neither she nor her husband is permitted to visit anyone who is sick. They are considered to be unlucky and their visit to a sick person would surely result in his death. The most that is allowed is that they may stand at the fence surrounding the house where the sick person is and enquire after him.

With reference to the custom of the young wife leaving her husband's home for her father's for the birth of her first child, it must be mentioned that the wives of the king, not merely on the occasion of their first born, but for all subsequent confinements, must leave Fashoda. They do not go to their former home, however, but to the village of some chief at a considerable distance from the capital. The child that is

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

person is a woman or a girl, a skirt is substituted for the skin, and for the girl some strings of yellow beads are added. If the family can afford it, it will buy a couple of yards of white cotton cloth to serve as a winding sheet and a cow skin is bound round this. The grave of a commoner is not dug in the hut itself but outside, near the compound. It is put near the surrounding reed fence, in a place where passers-by will not walk over it. As for a chief, the grave is excavated to a depth of about six feet but it is not nearly so wide, since the body is not buried lying on a bier, but is placed on the bare earth. The niche or alcove is cut out of the side, however, and a hen is placed under the head. During the funeral the mourners wail in the customary manner, and this is the signal for the warriors, who hitherto have been out of sight in the cattle byre, to charge forward, armed as usual with spears and shields, to salute their dead comrade. The grave is mudded over on the fourth day with the customary beer drinking and libation over the grave, and the relatives abstain for a while from dancing and the use of personal adornments.

The mourning is not really completed, however, until the deceased person has been commemorated at a funeral dance. This is a strict obligation upon the relatives, even though it may be a year or more before it is fulfilled. Since the commoner is not sufficiently important or wealthy to be given a dance all to himself, funeral dances are held periodically in the principal villages. The district turns up in force for these communal 'All Souls' days, for besides the attraction of the dance—and any Shilluk will cheerfully walk miles just for the pleasure of a dance—there is also the extra treat of a share in the meat when the affair is over. Everybody who is commemorating his dead must give an offering, a bull if the deceased is a man or a woman, a sheep if a child. The dance follows the pattern of the more important funeral dances: There is no tomb, however, so the drums mounted in forked sticks are made the focus of attention. The warriors, armed with spear and shield, make the customary encirclement of the village and then advance to the drums, chanting their